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ABSTRACT

The socioeconomic consequences of urbanization in rural areas were investigated. Data were taken from 2 sampling sociological-statistical surveys of 157 rural communities of the Novosibirsk province in West Siberia (USSR). A two-dimensional typology of centrality and social-branch structure of production was used. By using the centrality factor which was derived from 17 interconnected variables representing the community's administrative significance, its place in intrafarm settlement pattern, and level of development of key services, the communities were classified as backward hinterland, advanced hinterland, and centres. Communities were also grouped into agrarian-kolkhoz, agrarian-sovkhoz, and suburban-industrial according to: enterprise type (collective or state farm or nonfarm), the proportion of farm and of industrially employed, average family income from private economy, and the proportion of families residing in enterprise-owned houses. To describe the various employment situations in the public sector of communities with different urbanization levels, the branch structure of jobs and skill hierarchy of workers were examined. Findings included: in more urbanized rural areas job opportunities were wider and employment structure more advanced; at the same time, the dynamic character of socialist production in general and of farming in particular led, under certain circumstances, to shortages in manpower needed to produce farm products in necessary amounts. (NQ)

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CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS AND STRUCTURE CAUSED BY URBANIZATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

Seminar 8: Employment, occupational structure and strategies of integrated development

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CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS AND STRUCTURE CAUSED BY URBANIZATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

(IZMIENIENIE USLOVII I STRUKTURY ZANIATOSTI SELSKOGO NASELENIA POD VLIANIEM URBANIZATSII DEREVNI)

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Abstract

The process of the countryside urbanisation is of uneven nature, more affecting some of communities and not touching others. According to this, it facilitates the differentiation in employment conditions and level as well as in the degree to which residents of different communities are satisfied with their work. In more urbanised rural areas job opportunities are wider and employment structure more advanced. At the same time, the dynamic character of socialist production in general and of farming in particular leads, under certain circumstances, to shortages in manpower needed to produce farm products in necessary amounts. High demand for labour in cities entails in its turn tight employment situation and higher turnover of farm labour. And this process is strongest in urbanized communities.

* * *

1. Study Assumptions

The characteristic feature of the socialist economy is the creation of favourable conditions for the exercise of the universal right to work according to one's abilities. The employment policy is aimed here at the expansion of free choice by every worker of the kind of job, of course, within the labour demand of national economy. This demand is formed in its turn under the influence of demand for jobs

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by population. Due to uneven nature of industrial location, however, including rural and urban areas, as well as the specific features of social-demographic population structure, spatial differences in the implementation of the full employment principle are retained under the socialism. As one of its differentiating factors urbanization process stands out.

The urbanization of socioeconomic living conditions including industrialization of farming is a very important aspect in progressive shifts taking place in the socialist countryside. It has impact on labour and facilitates equalizing employment conditions between urban and rural population. The XXV Congress of the CPSU in its resolutions posed a task of further equalizing living conditions of urban and rural population, of consistently wiping out rural-urban socioeconomic and cultural differences on the basis of expedite industrialization of farming and improvements in services rendered to rural population.

This paper sets forth the results of a study of socioeconomic consequences of urbanization in rural areas in employment sphere. This sphere has been given little research so far. It is known only in very general form how urbanization level of communities is reflected on employment level and structure, its conditions, migrational mobility of employed population. Even less investigated is the impact made by the countryside urbanization on people's attitudes in the field of working activity and mobility. Meanwhile, for purposes of forecasting and planning farm labour and full employment of productive population according to its abilities and demands, it is of crucial importance to know present-day differentiation and changing patterns of employment conditions and people's social behaviour under the impact of urbanization.

The study[1] was based on a hypothesis that employment

1 The study has been done within the research project "Prospects in Rural Socioeconomic Development: A Case of Siberia" under the direction of the Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences T.I.Zaslavskaia. By the countryside meant are all populated points in the open country including non-farms.

level and workers' satisfaction with their jobs is higher in more urbanized communities since their job opportunities are wider with regard to industries and skills. The second hypothesis is a corollary from the first: the demand for jobs met in accordance with people's propensities and abilities must facilitate the manpower retention in the countryside and, thereby, the equilibrium between labour resources[1] and the demand for them by public production.

2. The Object of Investigation

High rates of socioeconomic development of the Soviet rural side make it especially important to know contradictory facets of this development. This task can be solved most successfully if studied are primary cells, i.e. rural communities and individual farms clustered by crucial attributes selected according to the task rather than global units whose averages often obscure their complicated structure. V.I.Lenin in his work "New Evidence of Development Laws of Capitalism in Agriculture" wrote that "in summarizing data on millions of farms obscurred were most vital distinctions, features, attributes, - the ones just to be emphasized, defined, taken into consideration" (Lenin , v.27:182).

According to this, rural communities of West Siberia were taken as the object of investigation. Data were taken from two sampling sociological-statistical surveys of 157 rural places of the Novosibirsk province. These surveys were conducted at the Institute of Economics & Industrial Engineering, Siberian Branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in collaboration with the Central Statistical Body of the RSFSR and the State Committee on Labour Resources Utilization of the RSFSR in 1967 and 1972.

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1 In the U.S.S.R. labour resources cover all able-bodied population in productive ages (from 16 to 59 for men and to 54 for women) and those of adolescents and people of retired age who are engaged in public production.

We should note that West Siberia is a highly urbanized economic region in the U.S.S.R. by the proportion of urban population (67%). The percentage of nonfarm workers is here also above the national figure. West Siberia is marked also by a more intensive decline of rural population. Comparatively rapid reduction of rural labour related to cityward migration has direct impact on rural development. The number of workers in this branch declines in West Siberia quicker than elsewhere in the country. During the last years in rural areas of this region the proportion farm employed was slightly above a half of total workers.

The decrease of rural labour goes on with a considerable rise in farm yield and labour productivity. Public sector of agriculture in West Siberia is developing at even higher rates than of the RSFSR as a whole, though over the last years this advantage has been diminishing because of too quick losses in farm population. Labour is the scarcest resource of West Siberian national economy in general and in agriculture it has acquired a permanent character.

The Novosibirsk province in this respect is typical of West Siberia. At the beginning of 1972 above 800 thousand rural population lived in two thousand communities of different sizes, populations, social functions, as well as distances from centres of intersettlement services. The communities with 201 to 500 inhabitants accounted for one-third of population. The communities with above 500 inhabitants accounted for two-fifths of population.

In 157 tested communities of the province at the beginning of 1972 about 39 thousand of productive population resided, and their proportion in the total population was 49%. In productive population 100 males accounted for 104 females, and this difference was largely due to people of older ages. The overwhelming majority (97%) of labour resources was in productive ages. About 10% of able-bodied rural residents (commuters) were employed and educated in cities and 90% were employed in public production, in keeping houses and in educational sphere in rural places.

The proportions of distribution of productive population in tested communities between basic employment spheres (less commuters) as of June 1972 are set out in Table 1. Productive population is distributed among the spheres by predominant

Table 1

The distribution of productive population among basic employment spheres (%)

Employment spheres	Total	including spheres	
		socialized	unsocialized*
1. Production of goods and services	78	72	6
including			
a) farming**	46	44	2
b) other branches	32	28	4
2. Health services, culture and pre-school education	10	9	1
3. Education	5	5	0
Total (1-3)	93	86	7
Students of 16 years of age and over	7	7	0
T o t a l	100	93	7

* Work in private economy and in home-making. Though this work was not classified, we can conventionally identify persons employed in private economy by predominant employment (by which socialized labour was classified). The classification has been based on the 1970 All-Union Census data: about one-third of this group works in private economy. The proportion of persons engaged in raising children of preschool age was calculated from the number of women having children under 1 year of age which made about 20% to those employed in housekeeping. In this case the difference between total employed in housekeeping and engaged in raising children means those who are engaged in cooking etc.

** In order to identify diverse branches of jobs in public sector in tested communities we have chosen not to follow the accepted classification of enterprises by industries but instead to discern in collective and state farms manufacturing jobs and to join them with jobs on manufacturing enterprises. As a result, the percentage of farm jobs became slightly lower than officially recognized.

wage-earning employment. In these terms private economy takes away very few resources. Taking into account unsocialized labour, less than half of total labour resources are used in agriculture.

3. Methods of Investigation

To determine the extent to which urbanism of communities influences employment a two-dimensional typology by factors of centrality and social-branch structure of productive sphere (Zaslavskaia and Goriachenko, 1976a; Zaslavskaia et al., 1976; Zaslavskaia and Goriachenko, 1976b) was used.

The centrality factor was derived from 17 interconnected variables representing the administrative significance of every community, its place in intrafarm settlement pattern and level of development of key forms of services. By this factor three classes of communities have been discerned: backward hinterland (B), advanced hinterland (A) and centres (C). These classes can be interpreted also as nonurbanized, weakly urbanized and relatively urbanized communities.

By social-branch structure of production the communities were grouped into three classes: agrarian-kolkhoz (K), agrarian-sovkhoz (S) and suburban-industrial (I). This grouping was based on five variables: enterprise type (collective or state farm or nonfarm enterprise), the proportion of farm employed in the total workers of public sector, the proportion of industrially employed, average family income from private economy and the proportion families residing in enterprise-owned houses. The classes of communities by social-branch structure of production were also ranked. Agrarian-kolkhoz communities were least urbanized and suburban-industrial most urbanized.

The combination of two one-dimensional classifications gives nine types of communities and makes it possible to use

two scales of urbanization diagonally from top to bottom[1].

Table 2

Productive population
by classes and types of enterprises (%)

Community types	Kolkhoz (K)	Sovkhoz (S)	Industrial (I)	Total
Backward hinterland (B)	9	6	2	17
Advanced hinterland (A)	5	12	9	26
C e n t r e s (C)	5	24	28	57
T o t a l	19	42	39	100

As is seen from Table 2, the best part of rural labour is concentrated in central agrarian-sovkhoz and suburban-industrial communities (SC and IC). By percentage of productive to total population backward hinterland differs from advanced hinterland and centres by a slightly smaller part (47.5% against 49%); by social-branch structure of production differences in this variable are negligible.

To describe the variety of employment situations in public sector of communities with different urbanization levels we shall examine branch structure of jobs and skill hierarchy of workers.

Following the division of national economy into three economic sectors used by International Labour Bureau (I agriculture, II manufacturing and construction and III services and all other branches), the distribution of working places among the three economic sectors will have the following form (Table 3).

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1 The developmental level of communities by their place in intrafarm settlement pattern and cultural and consumer services, on the one hand, and industrial nature of production, on the other, are closely interrelated: 119 communities out of 157 fall into the zone of balanced influence which makes it possible to use a single scale of urbanization.

Table 3

Intersectoral structure of working places
(% to total working places in each community type and class)

	1 sector				2 sector				3 sector			
	K	S	I	Total	K	S	I	Total	K	S	I	Total
B	87	84	6	77	3	5	58	4	10	11	36	19
A	78	73	28	65	5	9	2	7	17	18	70	28
C	61	46	25	41	5	14	13	12	34	40	62	47
Total	78	61	26	51	5	11	11	11	17	28	63	38

Most diversified are jobs[1] in central agrarian-sovkhoz communities, and least diversified in kolkhoz communities of backward hinterland. In suburban-industrial centres the branch structure of jobs nearly coincides with the mean variables for urban areas of the province. The branch structure of jobs in industrial communities of backward hinterland is peculiar. These communities are mainly ones of extracting industry or transportation (railway single track stations, landing-stages), and farming is minimal in them.

Apart from great variety of available jobs in the communities themselves, job opportunities are much enhanced by possibility to work in urban places. The relatively small number of urban settlements - industrial centres, low density of rural population and insufficient passenger traffic in West Siberia are reflected on the relatively small mean proportion of commuters, i.e. rural dwellers working in cities. At the same time this indicator is rather strongly differentiated for communities with different urbanization levels: in suburban-industrial communities it is 5.5 times as high as in agrarian-sovkhoz ones (Table 4). Small pro-

1 The data about jobs (and vacancies) and about available manpower were obtained from economic departments of enterprises situated on the territory of tested communities.

portion of commuters in communities of backward hinterland is attributable to their remoteness from cities. The advanced hinterland has better transportation roads and distances from urban places are shorter. As to higher spread of this type of employment in communities of AI group against CI it is due, first, to lesser diversity of jobs in the place of residence and, second, to that these communities most often than not serve main lines and have good transportation connections with cities. Apart from this, the distribution of commuters is affected by job vacancies; in group CI they are more than in AI (see p. 13). Commutation is most highly differentiated in communities with different social-branch structure of production: most commuters are concentrated in suburban-industrial communities whose dwellers are in general marked by intensive job mobility. And, conversely, they are practically absent in kolkhoz population. This is both because of general labour shortages in collective farms and of specificity of cooperative form of property on producer goods, of the legal status of collective farmers with regard to job mobility.[1]

Table 4

Proportion of commuters, %, in all employed in public sector

	K	S	I	Total
B	0	3.7	15.3	3.4
A	0	5.4	49.0	18.1
C	0	3.4	10.2	5.7
Total	0	4.1	22.5	6.3

One- and two-dimensional typologies used by us arrange the population not only by diversity of branch structure of jobs, but by skills measured through general educational level also (Table 5). Workers in urbanized communities have a higher educational level against nonurbanized.

Table 5

Total years of general education per worker by community types (years)

	K	S	I	Total
B	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.4
A	5.9	6.0	6.0	6.0
C	5.9	6.3	6.4	6.3
Total	5.7	6.1	6.3	6.1

The structure of jobs by complexity of work can be

[1] If members of collective farms wish to work elsewhere, they have to ask special permission from kolkhoz boards.

judged of according to skill hierarchy of workers. We shall use for this purpose the proportion of workers engaged in highly skilled work (Table 6). Here we can also see the tendency of increase in work complexity when passing to more

Table 6

Proportion of workers on white collar and professional jobs, % of all employed

	K	S	I	Total
B	15	10	19	13
A	20	19	18	19
C	27	28	29	28
Total	19	22	26	23

urbanized communities. This pattern is most conspicuous in community classes identified by centrality factor.

We shall dwell on another factor which essentially influences employment level and work content, i.e. the availability of vacancies.[1] This factor increases freedom in job choice if enterprise's demand for skills and workers' demand for certain jobs are consistent. There is, however, the other side in the impact of vacancies on employment, namely: increase of average work loading per worker. It is common knowledge that deficiency of labour force deteriorates working hours pattern, produces difficulties for workers in getting leaves of absence in proper time; all this affects workers' attitudes and on-job behaviour.

Table 7 shows the distribution of vacancies in three sectors of economy by communities with different urbanization levels.

As is seen, there are vacancies, first, in all economic sectors (most of all in the first two); second, in all types of communities, and most of all in most urbanized ones

1 The data were obtained from economic departments of farms, enterprises and institutions.

Table 7

Additional need in labour by sectors of public economy (% to total jobs in the sector)

	I sector					II sector					By all three sectors			
	K	S	I	Total		K	S	I	Total		K	S	I	Total
B	7	13	0	9	B	6	24	4	15	B	6	13	4	9
A	11	6	16	8	A	17	13	0	13	A	11	7	5	8
C	5	19	18	17	C	16	10	16	13	C	6	12	11	11
Total	8	14	17	13	Total	13	11	15	12	Total	7	11	9	9

(CS and CI). In kolkhoz communities there are less vacancies, than in sovkhoz ones, in hinterland less than in centres. It is of interest to note that the lower the share of farming in residents' employment, the more vacancies are there which is attributable to decline in prestige of farm occupations if employment opportunities are available in other sectors of economy.

We have put forward an assumption that labour demand and supply in urbanized communities are better matched with one another than in nonurbanized. It is obvious that this assumption was not validated and, more than that, an opposite trend was revealed: in mostly urbanized communities deficiency of labour proved to be higher. This assumption followed from the former. Now we shall examine it.

4. Employment Level

According to the first of our hypotheses, urbanization leads to higher employment level in public sector. Now we shall see how matters really stand.

As is seen from Table 8, a slight rise in employment level was observed when passing from hinterland to central communities. Better consumer and shopping facilities, higher provision of children's and eating facilities combined with

favourable conditions for running private economy lead to higher employment in urbanized communities.

Table 8

Percentage employed in public sector plus full-time students to total able-bodied population, %

	K	S	I	Total
B	94	90	91	92
A	93	91	94	92
C	98	93	96	95
Total	95	92	95	94

At the same time there are some evidences about a slightly lower employment in sovkhoz than in kolkhoz communities. This seems to be due to different procedures of classifying kolkhoz and sovkhoz population as employed in public sector: in collective farms individuals are employed if they are kolkhoz members and have annual minimum of work days; unlike this, in sovkhoz a worker is employed if he has been put on the job by a special order which means his work throughout the whole year. Therefore, it is impossible to test this hypothesis with regard to communities with different social-branch structures. On the whole, however, the hypothesis about higher employment of rural population in higher urbanized communities was supported though not very strongly.

5. Employment Conditions in Workers' Evaluation

High employment level by itself does not yet mean satisfaction with its conditions. Is the satisfaction with employment higher in more urbanized communities, under more diversified system of jobs and greater scarcity of labour? To answer this question, we have analyzed the replies to items about satisfaction with job and with freedom in job choices made by workers resident in communities of different types.

In the Worker's Questionnaire there were several items about different aspects of employment. For our analysis we have selected the following questions:

1. Did you choose your present job or there was no choice for you?

2. You answer that you did not choose it, then how did you get your present job?

3. Are you satisfied with it on the whole?

1) very much satisfied; 2) satisfied; 3) satisfied because there is no alternative; 4) dissatisfied.

4. Are you going to remain on your present job or to shift from it?

5. Do you think you can get the desirable job in this village?

6. Are you going to leave or not?

To eliminate the influence of sociodemographic factors the respondents were divided into males and females and into age groups of persons under 29 and 30 years of age and older.

Data analysis has shown that of workers residents of Siberian rural communities it was characteristic a higher freedom in job choice and high satisfaction with work: only 8% of the sample were on their jobs on account of the absence of more desirable alternatives; 10% reported their discontent with work and 15% said they were satisfied because of absence of other alternatives; 7% were resolved to shift and 14% to leave this community, 7% of the latter group because of impossibility to change the job in this community.

Female employment essentially differs from male by considerably lesser freedom in job choice. Thus, among the respondents who reported their holding present jobs because of the absence of other alternatives the proportion of women was twice as high. The same ratio was for those satisfied with present jobs because of the absence of other alternatives. And in spite of that working conditions in farming are for women worse, lesser freedom in job choice in combination with women's specific role in family (the need to run private economy and keep the house) leads women to lower demands to jobs, so that the proportion of women reporting their discontent with work is nearly that of men. Females little differ in terms of planning job movements and migrational mobility. By community classes male-female differences in movement plans are not great, and as such are those in

discontent with work. One exception is residents of remote hinterland where women are more dissatisfied with work than men. These differences are based on the predominance in these communities of farm work in public sector in combination with large sizes of private households which results in high work loadings on women. Comparative analysis of replies of workers under 29 and 30 and older showed essential differences between them in replies to items about job satisfaction and planned mobility. The workers of young age are marked by higher discontent with job (14% replied that they were dissatisfied with work) which is one and a half as high as the proportion of similar replies of workers of older ages and the minor proportion (1.8 as high) of those who are satisfied with job because of absence of alternatives. The latter circumstance is attributable to higher job and migrational mobility of youth , both potential and actual. The young people are more than twice as determined in their job shift plans and there are 3 times as many potential migrants among them.

The conclusions about differences between social groups in rating employment conditions and potential mobility can be related also to each community type.

As to the validity of the assumption about the influence of work complexity and jobs structure on rating of job choice and satisfaction, it was found out that employment opportunities got higher ratings in urbanized than nonurbanized communities. And urbanization more facilitates the improvement in employment opportunities for men than women and for young than older workers. Most differentiated are the evaluations of job satisfaction (Tables 9, 10). Most conspicuous is the drop in the proportion of those who did not choose the job when we pass from backward hinterland to centres. On the whole by this dimension the coefficient of variation is 63%.

This pattern of urbanization impact on job satisfaction showed itself specifically in replies "dissatisfied with

job". We shall illustrate this by replies of workers of under 29 age group (variance coefficient of replies is the highest - 57%).

Table 9

Proportion of men satisfied with work because of absence of other alternatives, % to all males employed

	K	S	I	Total
B	13	14	21	14
A	11	8	9	9
C	18	4	9	8
Total	13	7	9	9

Table 10

Proportion of youth dissatisfied with job, % to all youth

	K	S	I	Total
B	22	14	0	17
A	12	13	1	9
C	24	15	15	16
Total	18	14	12	14

Apparently the youth in central communities is more dissatisfied with job than in hinterland. Why is it so? Why has our hypothesis not found support by this variable? It is known that abundant information about urban living conditions and direct spatial connections with cities jointly with higher educational attainments facilitate growth in needs. The rise in job dissatisfaction in this case indicates that improvements in working conditions in central communities do not catch up with the rise in demands posed by the youth. Deficiency of labour is also very important. In urbanized communities it does not decrease and in a number of industries even increases. As we have already noted, labour scarcity leads to excess working load, and this circumstance increases discontent with work.

About propensity to move (measured by replies of those who were planning job shifts) it is possible to say that community urbanisation did not lead to its considerable differentiation (a slightly lower percentage of mobility-oriented in urbanized against nonurbanized communities is nearly negligible). At the same time communities urbanisation substantially decreases propensity to migration among wage-earning population (Table 11) , especially important

is centrality factor: the proportion of potential migrants in central communities is about half that in backward hinterland; the same ratio is on the extremes of diagonal scale.

Table 11

Proportion of youth planning to migration, % to all youth

	K	S	I	Total
B	48	41	30	44
A	19	32	39	30
C	0	25	21	21
Total	30	30	25	28

Labour turnover to migration ratio also varies with community urbanization level: thus, in the youth group in backward hinterland the volumes of labour turnover and migration were sharply different (14% and 44%), and in central communities the difference was considerably lower (16 and 21%, respectively).

We can thus conclude that cultural, dwelling and living conditions of the employed population are more differentiated by urbanization than occupational sphere. At the same time we should not disregard changes in employment sphere. According to the replies concerning opportunities for job changes in place of residence, one can see that in central communities job choice is wider. Among men going to migrate the proportion of those having no opportunity to change job in central communities was nearly half as many as in backward hinterland.

* *
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The study has shown that urbanization of rural life differentiates employment level and conditions as well as job satisfaction among residents of communities on different levels of socioeconomic and welfare development. In most advanced communities the sphere of occupational activity is on a higher level.

The overall social situation in mostly advanced communities favourably contributes to reducing migrational plans among working youth, so as we can anticipate a trend when youth will stay on farm. Already at present central communities have productive population reproduction on a large scale.

Labour resources grow up as a result of diminished negative net migration. It is, however, yet insufficient to alleviate, let alone eliminate, disproportions between labour and employment. Maximum employment of rural population in the most highly urbanized communities without appropriate economy of live labour in farming would lead to exhaustion of extensive sources of labour. The additional demand increment for labour needed to fulfil increased planned output far exceeds the rates of labour released as a result of higher productivity. Migration of productive population even in mostly urbanized communities is not equal to its function of providing the necessary labour inflow.

The problem of balancing labour demand and supply can be solved both by improving working conditions and work organization in these farms and by raising the prestige of farm work. The prestige, however, is dependent, besides working conditions, on the state of labour demand and supply in cities and in the country on the whole.

A special role in this must be played by regulation of exodus of secondary school leavers. Though in the last years the percentage of school leavers remaining on farms was growing (in 1969 34.5%, in 1971 42.5%) this source is not large. School leavers entering farming are two-fifths of the total job entrants among them. But even if all 1971 8- and 10-grade graduates who entered jobs had been placed in farming, deficiency of labour in this branch would have been reduced only by 15%.

The successful implementation of the agrarian policy of the CPSU over the last decade, the integrated program approved by the XXV Congress of the reconstruction of socio-economic and cultural spheres in rural sector, including essential reduction of farm labour at the expense of speedy growth in labour productivity and technological equipment, i.e. due to labour saving policy along with communities urbanization will lead to essential rise in farming prestige and to its balance with the needs of national economy.

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